

***A SELECTIVE, ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY ON  
THE NATIONS OF SOUTH ASIA***

*June 1982*

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## PREFACE

This bibliography contains citations of monographs and serial articles relating to countries of the Indian Subcontinent: Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka. The compilation is selective and is intended principally as a reference work for research on the foreign relations, governments, and politics of the nations concerned. The bibliography is divided into two major sections, retrospective and current. The retrospective section lists titles of research value published prior to 1982 that were not reported in previous editions of this bibliography. The current section lists titles that appeared between 1 January and 30 June 1982. Each of the two major sections is further subdivided by country and preceded initially by a chapter listing general interest and reference titles, and works on the South Asian region as a whole.

Wherever the hard copy of the material being cited could be obtained, a brief abstract, review or summary is presented with the citation. Where existence of a work was reported or verified (e.g., through publishers' notices, review articles, etc.) but a hard copy could not be obtained, the article/book is merely cited without further description. All listings are by author, last name first, except where the author is unknown. In such cases, the work is listed by title.

CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
I. RETROSPECTIVE -----	1
A. General Interest and Reference -----	2
B. Afghanistan -----	5
C. Bangladesh -----	7
D. Bhutan -----	9
E. India -----	11
F. Maldives -----	15
G. Pakistan -----	17
II. CURRENT -----	20
A. General Interest and Reference -----	21
B. Afghanistan -----	24
C. Bangladesh -----	30
D. Bhutan -----	35
E. India -----	37
F. Nepal -----	50
G. Pakistan -----	52
H. Sri Lanka -----	60

## I. RETROSPECTIVE

A. GENERAL INTEREST AND REFERENCE

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1  
2  
3  
4  
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Feuchtwanger, E. J. and Nailor, Peter, eds. The Soviet Union and the Third World. New York: St. Martin's, 1981.

The editors have compiled a brief but objective study of the intentions, aims, and practices of Soviet policy in the Third World. The book is divided into two sections composed of papers by experts in their fields. The first section investigates general aspects of Soviet-Third World relations and includes analysis of political, ideological, military, and economic factors. The chapter on trade is especially informative. Moscow's commercial ties with its trading partners in Asia, Africa, and Latin America are considered in some detail. Maps and charts abound, providing handy references. The second section examines Soviet policy in major regions of the Third World: the Middle East, Afghanistan, Iran, Turkey, Southeast Asia, and Africa. The format offers a historical background and introduction for each region, followed by substantive commentary, and concludes with a summary evaluation. If there is a pervasive theme in the book, it is that the Soviet Union is essentially opportunist rather than adventurist, and seeks wherever possible to counter, balance, or replace Western and/or Chinese influence.

Jain, R. K., ed. China South Asian Relations, 1947-1980. Two vols. Atlantic Highlands, New Jersey: Humanities Press, 1981.

This is by far the most comprehensive source book on China's South Asian relations from 1947-1980. These two volumes contain 973 documents which include statements by leaders of China and South Asia and full texts of important cultural, economic, and trade agreements and joint communiques. In addition, there are press interviews with government leaders and significant articles, editorials, and commentaries published in the Chinese press. Forty-five tables and appendixes present important data on commercial, cultural, economic, political, and sports exchanges, and Chinese aid projects of both arms and supplies. All documents are chronologically arranged. Volume I deals exclusively with China and India; Volume II is arranged by countries and conflicts among South Asian countries. The major flaw is the lack of a historical introduction to each crisis, period, or topic.

Kozicki, Richard J., ed. International Relations of South Asia, 1947-1980: A Guide to Information Sources. Detroit: Gale Research Co., 1981.

Volume 10 in Gale's International Relations Information Series is a selective annotated bibliography of English-language books and articles. The scope of the volume includes the international relations of the following South Asian nations: India, Pakistan, Bangladesh (formerly East Pakistan), Sri Lanka (formerly Ceylon), Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan, and Afghanistan.

US Congress. House of Representatives. Committee on Armed Services. (97th Congress, first session). Report of the Delegation to the Indian Ocean Area. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1981.

Vivekanandan, V. "The Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace: Problems and Prospects." Asian Survey, vol. XXI (December 1981), p. 1237.

Unlike most Indian analysts who place great store in attempts by the littoral states to pressure the US and USSR to withdraw their naval forces from the Indian Ocean, Vivekanandan believes the Zone of Peace initiative is "an exercise in futility." The author argues that neither side in the great power rivalry will back down in the Indian Ocean, least of all the Soviets

who have demonstrated an increasingly aggressive military posture in the region in recent years. Like Tito's ill-fated attempt to demilitarize the Mediterranean, the author believes the IZOP proposal is a nonstarter that ignores the geostrategic realities of the Indian Ocean and Persian Gulf. As an alternative, he recommends that the concerned states of the area concentrate on striving for "a balancing presence of the various navies at a minimum level in the Indian Ocean so that no single navy would be in a position to pose a real danger to the stability and security of any littoral state."

Ziring, Lawrence. Iran, Turkey, and Afghanistan: a Political Chronology. New York: Praeger, 1981.

Begun more than 10 years ago and carried forward to early 1981, this work focuses on Southwest Asia, an area Ziring believes will be for the 1980s what Southeast Asia was to the 1960s. He is convinced this area is of primary strategic/geopolitical significance to the US, and that it may form the historical pivot for the remaining decades of the 20th century. The author regards the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan as a direct consequence of the failure of American influence in Iran and maintains that it would be equally possible to argue that the Soviet invasion represented a failure in the foreign policy of the USSR. He predicts that Iran is destined for an experiment with Marxism, while only deeply troubled Turkey may escape the spreading shadow of the Soviet Union. Ziring's dire warning is that the northern tier of states in Southwest Asia is in the process of being transformed into the Soviet's southern tier of buffer states as the Russians play out their strategy and influence in the area. Specialists will find many points to dispute in such a wide-ranging analysis. The book is sound in its overall analysis, well documented (though from secondary sources essentially), and tightly written. However, it lacks fresh interpretation and has now been overtaken by events, rendering the narrative clearly outdated.



B. AFGHANISTAN

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Afghanistan (Democratic Republic). Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Information Department. Undeclared War: Armed Intervention and Other Forms of Interference in the Internal Affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. Kabul: Government Information Department, 1980.

Afghanistan, Past and Present. Moscow: "Social Sciences Today" Editorial Board, Soviet Academy of Sciences, 1981.

Arnold, Anthony. Afghanistan: The Soviet Invasion in Perspective. Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1981.

The author was a US intelligence analyst in Afghanistan before the Soviet invasion. He traces, in a balanced and convincing manner, the course of Soviet-Afghan relations since 1919. There is a great deal of information on the events leading up to the Soviet takeover in 1979. He reveals what he sees as a consistent pattern of Soviet aggression through three post World War II phases.

Fukuyama, Y. F. The Future of the Soviet Role in Afghanistan. No. N-1579-RC. Santa Monica, California: Rand Corporation, 1980.

Hall, Lesley, ed. A Brief Guide to Sources for the Study of Afghanistan in the India Office Records. London: India Office Library and Records, 1981.

Outside of Asia, the most meaningful collection of archival material on the history of Afghanistan from the 17th to the mid-20th centuries is located in the Indian Office Records. The first part of the work gives a chronological overview of primary sources for nine periods beginning with the foundation of the East India Company and culminating around 1950. The second part comprises the records of the British Legation in Kabul from 1923 to 1948 and the following five appendixes: I. Summary list of principal India Office Records series relating to Afghanistan; II. Archival materials in other repositories; III. Representatives of the Government of India and the British Government in Afghanistan 1856-1947; IV. Rulers in Afghanistan 1747-1973; V. Glossary of races, tribes and leading families in Afghanistan. This reference work is privately printed and may be ordered from the Indian Office Library and Records, 197 Blackfriars Road, London SE1 8NG, Great Britain (price is 4 pounds).

C. BANGLADESH

Faaland, Just. Aid and Influence: The Case of Bangladesh. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1980.

Anyone with some feel for Asia will appreciate this detailed account of the influence of the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and the Canadian, American, Russian, British, Scandinavian, and Indian Governments in the development of Bangladesh during its first 3 years of existence. The book concludes that "there is overwhelming evidence of very considerable intervention in the domestic and foreign affairs of aid recipients, which can hardly be thrown off once a country has accepted a strategy for development based on a continuing flow of resources from abroad."

Islam, Syed Nazmul. "The Chittagong Hill Tracts in Bangladesh: Integrational Crisis Between Center and Periphery." Asian Survey, vol. XXI (December 1981), p. 1111.

The little publicized unrest among the tribal peoples of the remote Chittagong Hill Tracts is the subject of this socioeconomic analysis of the growing rift between predominantly Muslim Bangladesh and its mostly Buddhist tribal people. The isolated life of the Chakma tribe has changed dramatically in recent years as a result of Bengali settlement on traditional tribal lands and the economic dislocations created by the Karnaphuli hydroelectric project. The feelings of exploitation and cultural rejection gave birth to the formation of the Shanti Bahini, a political and guerrilla movement with the objective of obtaining a measure of tribal autonomy. The author argues that the very real grievances against the central authorities have not as yet been translated into a strong political movement. Pressures from India to cut down on the number of illegal emigrants entering the northeastern states from Bangladesh has insured, however, that further encroachment on Chakma lands by lowland Bengalis will continue to exacerbate the problem.

Rahim, A. M. A., ed. Bangladesh Economy: Problems & Policies. Dacca: Barnamala Press & Publication, 1980.

Sobhan, Rehman and Ahmad, Muzaffer. Public Enterprise in an Intermediate Regime: A Study in the Political Economy of Bangladesh. Dacca: Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies, 1980.

D. BHUTAN

Aris, Machael. Bhutan: The Early History of a Himalayan Kingdom. London: Warminster, Aris & Phillips Ltd., 1979.

Dr. Aris has produced a substantial and detailed history of Bhutan, the only remaining independent Himalayan kingdom in which a relatively pure form of Tantric Buddhism still prevails. The book covers the history of this small country, from the largely legendary early period around the 7th century to the 17th century. This is the first serious attempt to produce a sustained scholarly work on Bhutanese history in a western language and as such represents a pioneering effort by an occidental scholar.

Mehra, G. N. Bhutan, Land of the Peaceful Dragon. A reprint of the 1974 edition.  
Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, 1978.

E. INDIA

Ahmed, R. The Bengal Muslims, 1871-1906. A Quest for Identity. New York: Oxford University Press, 1981.

Arora, Bhagwan Dass. Indian-Indonesian Relations, 1961-80. A revision of the author's Ph. D. thesis. New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1981.

Basu, Baman Das. Rise of the Christian Power in India. A reproduction of the undated edition. Two vols. Allahabad: R. S. Publishing House, 1981.

Chandra, Bipan. Nationalism and Colonialism in Modern India. New Delhi: Orient Longman, 1979.

Chandra's book makes a substantial contribution to modern Indian history. It brings together 14 essays, most of them dating from the early 1970s. All of them relate to the theme indicated by the title of the book and raise issues that are crucial to understanding modern India: the nature of Indian modernization under British rule, the relationship between the Indian capitalist class and imperialism, the relationship between the capitalists and the Congress Party, and British and Indian ideas on economic development. The strength of the book is in the single point of view presented by all the essays that colonialism transformed traditional Indian institutions fundamentally and brought about the growth of an indigenous middle class.

Hobson, Sarah. Family Web: A Story of India. Chicago: Academy of Chicago, 1981.

The author describes her 4-month stay with a poor family in the south of India, during which time they shared their house, food, and work. This book has been compared to Oscar Lewis' Children of Sanchez.

Kak, B. L. Kashmir, Problems and Prospects. New Delhi: Seema Publications, 1981.

Khilnani, N. M. Panorama of Indian Diplomacy: From Mauryan Epoch to Post-Nehru Era. New Delhi: S. Chand, 1981.

Lall, Arthur. The Emergency of Modern India. New York: Columbia University Press, 1981.

The author offers both a concise and comprehensive account of 20th century India and a personal interpretation of the major political events in that nation's recent past.

Maheshwari, Shriram. Open Government in India. New Delhi: Macmillan India Ltd., 1981.

Majumdar, Ramesh Chandra. History of the Freedom Movement in India. Four vols. Calcutta: Ferma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, 1971 (?).

Mirchandani, G. G. Nuclear India, A Technological Assessment. New Delhi: Vision Books, 1981.

Muhammad, Shan. The Indian Muslims. A Documentary Record, 1900-47. Three vols. Meerut: Meenakshi Publications, 1980.



Naik, J. A., ed. India and the West. Documents: 1976-78. Atlantic Highlands, New Jersey: Humanities Press, 1981.

Nanda, B. R. Essays in Modern Indian History. New Delhi, Bombay & New York: Oxford University Press, 1980.

This book is a collection of essays which lack the coherence of a single unifying theme. The three essays which stand out are: "Three Interpretations of Indian Nationalism" by Rajat K. Ray, "Writing on the Transfer of Power, 1945-47" by A.K. Majumdar, and "The Civil Disobedience Movement and the Round Table Conference: The Princes' Response" by Barbara N. Ramusack.

Prasad, Anirudh. Presidential Government or Parliamentary Democracy. New Delhi: Deep & Deep, 1981.

Sharma, Jagdish Saran, ed. Encyclopaedia Indica. Second Revised Edition. Two vols. New Delhi: S. Chand, 1981.

Sims, John Merriman. A List and Index of Parliamentary Papers Relating to India, 1908-1947. London: India Office Library and Records, 1981.

Singh, Baljit and Vajpeyi, Dharendra K. Government and Politics in India. New York: APT Books, 1981.

This textbook provides worthwhile current data on Indian politics. However, as a whole it is less satisfactory than Robert L. Hardgrave's India: Government and Politics in a Developing Nation (3d ed., 1980), particularly for non-Indian students and readers who need greater background and information on such a complex society. The Singh and Vajpeyi book also contrasts sharply, and in the reviewer's opinion unfavorably, with Rajni Kothari's brilliant and stimulating Politics in India (1970), the content of which is now dated, but which contains a very important analytical quality which the present book under review lacks. The Singh and Vajpeyi text is historical and factual in approach and, therefore, very useful as a snapshot of current history. There is also an excellent bibliography and tables. It is recommended for beginning American students of Indian politics.

Singh, Charan. Economic Nightmare of India: Its Cause and Cure. New Delhi: National, 1981.

Smith, H. Daniel. The Picturebook Ramayana: An Illustrated Version of Valmiki's Story. Foreign and Comparative Studies Series. New York: Syracuse University, 1981.

This illustrated version of Valmiki offers 77 original line drawings and a summary of the story. This American classroom edition is recommended for courses in Sanskrit and South Asian culture, literature, and language.

Sood, P. The Re-Emergence of Indira Gandhi: India's Great Age Begins Anew. New Delhi: S. Chand, 1981.

Traub, James, S. India: The Challenge of Change. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1981.

This is a pleasantly written brief introduction to modern India. In its eight chapters, the book summarizes the long history of the country and its principal religion, Hinduism. The work also presents vignettes on daily life, political culture, economic development, external relations, and the interaction between the past and the future. Its style and contents are simple without being simplistic, and though there are some oversimplifications of complex phenomena, there are no egregious errors. The text is suitable for senior high schools, community colleges, and public libraries.

"United They Stand, Maybe." The Economist, 19 December 1981, p. 46.

India's opposition parties are trying to unite once again to provide a credible non-Communist alternative to the Congress-I Party. The example was given by the two Communist parties of India who patched up their quarrel last year and since then have been the most effective critics of a not very effective government. The lead has been taken by the once-ruling Janata party which maintains that only a united opposition can stand up to Mrs. Gandhi. The Janata initiative was welcomed by the Lok Dal, the farmers' party led by Charan Singh. The Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), supported by middle class Hindus, has remained aloof from jumping on the merger bandwagon because of past shabby treatment by other factions in the Janata coalition, but is prepared to join with other opposition parties for limited tactical objectives such as contesting elections.

Weiner, Myron. Congress Restored: Political and Economic Developments in Contemporary India. Massachusetts: Center for International Studies, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1981.

F. MALDIVES

World Bank. South Asia Regional Office. The Maldives: An Introductory Economic Report. A World Bank Country Study. Washington: World Bank, 1980.

G. PAKISTAN

Ahmed, Manzooruddin, ed. Contemporary Pakistan: Politics, Economy and Society. Durham, North Carolina: Carolina Academic Press, 1980.

This book is divided into three sections, focusing on the politics, economy, and society of Pakistan. The sections reviewing political history and the economy are equally good; the chapters on Pakistan's economy are impressive, especially the overview by Eric Gustafson and the analysis by Shahid Javed Burki. Equally important in the political section are the contributions of Philip Jones, Shariful Mujahid, and William Richter. There is much substance in these chapters regarding political organization, electoral behavior and performance, and the constraints imposed on Pakistan's political process. Karl Newman also offers some creative and provocative philosophical explanations for Pakistan's continuing political dilemmas.

Ayoob, Mohammed, ed. The Politics of Islamic Reassertion. New York: St. Martin's, 1981.

This book represents an attempt to discredit two myths perpetuated by Western analysts, namely that Islam is a monolithic institution and that it is bent on the subjugation of Western civilization. For this purpose, 13 scholars examine Islam in various regions: the periphery (North Africa), the Arabian heartland (Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Syria, and Iraq), non-Arab West Asia (Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan), Southeast Asia (Malaysia and Indonesia), the minorities (Thailand and the Philippines), and the Soviet Union. The editor introduces the problem and summarizes the work of his collaborators, showing that there are discernible patterns in which Islam has been used as a legitimizing agent both by forces committed to and opposed to a particular status quo. In spite of Ayoob's somewhat flamboyant style and his indiscriminate attack on the "Orientalists" as the "handmaidens of imperialism," the work is of great interest for both the expert and the student of Islamic institutions and politics.

Fukuyama, Y. F. The Security of Pakistan. Ranel Study N-1584-RC. Santa Monica, CA: Rand Corporation, 1980.

Jansson, Erland. India, Pakistan or Pakhtunistan: The Nationalist Movements in the Northwest Frontier Province. University of Upsala Studies in History. Stockholm: Distributors Alonquist and Urksell, 1981.

Rai, Hameed A. K., ed. Pakistan in the United Nations: Speeches Delivered in the General Assembly by the Heads of Pakistan Delegations, 1948-1978. Lahore: Aziz Publishers, 1979.

Rai, Hameed A. K., ed. Readings in Pakistan's Foreign Policy. Two vols. Lahore: Aziz Publishers, 1981.

Sayeed, Khaled B. Politics in Pakistan: The Nature and Direction of Change. New York: Praeger, 1980.

This work discusses the roles of the bureaucracy, elites, the army, and opposition groups in Pakistan.

Ziring, Lawrence. Pakistan. The Enigma of Political Development. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1981.

After more than 3 decades of recurrent political instability, military coups, and violence, it is difficult to determine whether there has been any political development in Pakistan at all. In this volume, the author draws on his long experience as an observer of that country to produce an interesting and generally well-written account of politics. However, he does little to clarify the nature of the enigma, or even to relate his narrative to the concept of political development. Ziring treats his subject sympathetically but not totally uncritically. His account emphasizes the importance of Islam--the *raison d'etre* for the country's creation in 1947, and raises several questions concerning its political role. One of these is the familiar issue of the tension between Islam and nationalism. An equally important issue, less frequently mentioned, is the conflict between Islam and constitutionalism. The author is pessimistic about the future of this latter phenomenon in Pakistan, and he seems to regard the prospect of an Islamic polity, such as that advocated by Pakistan's President Zia, with equally strong pessimism.

Johnson, Basel Leonard Clyde and Scrivenor, M. le M. Sri Lanka, Land, People and Economy. London and Exeter, New Hampshire: Heinemann Educational Books, 1981.

Tveite, Per. Sri Lanka: Problems of Economic Growth During the Bandaranaike Government 1970-1977. DERAP Publications no. 121. Bergen, Norway: Michelsen Institute, 1981.

## II. CURRENT



A. GENERAL INTEREST AND REFERENCE

India: A Reference Annual, 1981. New Delhi: Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, 1982.

The 1981 edition of this annual carries 10 appendices in addition to 26 chapters. It includes three maps showing the main rail links, national highways and important tourist centers and air links, besides a political map and a few charts highlighting achievements in the fields of industry, agriculture, and other disciplines. A bibliography and index add to the usefulness of this monumental work and enhance its reference value. The volume is designed to meet the information and reference needs of all professionals and officials, students and academicians, research scholars and journalists, libraries and other institutions. It documents all that has been done in recent years to transform a traditional society like India into a future-oriented, fast-developing nation. It documents the progress achieved in various spheres of activities such as education, health, social welfare, transport, communications, science and technology, rural reconstruction, labor, housing, industry, commerce, agriculture, power generation and other aspects of national life. In summary, India: A Reference Annual 1981 combines the characteristics of an almanac, a yearbook, a handbook, and a guide, and is perhaps the best available tool for current information on India.

Kapur, Ashok. The Indian Ocean: Patterns of Regional and International Power Politics. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1982.

This book examines the role of the Indian Ocean region in the international system and its relationship to other regions, particularly in regard to superpower interests and strategies.

"Making the Case." Asiaweek, 9 April 1982, p. 19.

The US State Department has been hard-pressed to satisfy sceptics that the USSR and its allies have used chemical weapons against the peoples of Afghanistan, Laos, and Cambodia. Last week, Secretary of State Alexander Haig once again stated Washington's case against Moscow in a 32-page report that documented over 10,000 deaths inflicted by chemical agents used or supplied by the USSR.

Pierre, Andrew J. The Global Politics of Arms Sales. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1982.

"A first-class book, by far the best book on arms sales"--Cyrus Vance; "The indispensable starting point for serious examination of the politics of arms sales"--McGeorge Bundy; "Will remain the standard work for years to come"--Stanley Hoffman; "A major work, not just in the literature of arms sales but in the broader domain of international politics as well"--Brig Gen Peter Dawkins; "The most comprehensive book on arms trade"--Leslie Gelb; "Should be carefully studied by every member of Congress and by every citizen"--Townsend Hoopes; "A sophisticated analysis of arms sales as an integral part of international politics"--Barry Blechman.

Rahim, Enayetur. Scholar's Guide to Washington, D.C. for South Asian Studies. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1982.

Schimmel, Annemarie. Islam in India and Pakistan. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1982.

Starr, Richard F., ed. Yearbook on International Communist Affairs. Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1982.

This yearly report on the activities, strengths, and official dealings of various Communist party organizations around the globe includes separate sections on the countries of South Asia. Eliza van Hollen writes on Afghanistan; Walter Andersen handles Communist party activities in India and Bangladesh; and Barbara Reid writes about Sri Lanka. All the articles contain brief summaries of the Communist movement in each country and notable events of the past year.

Wolpert, Stanley. Roots of Confrontation in South Asia: Afghanistan, Pakistan, India & the Superpowers. London: Oxford University Press, 1982.

The author, a longtime academic specialist on South Asia, sketches a brief outline of the subcontinent. Chapters on Islam, the Great Game, and Washington's South Asia policy all gloss over the "high points" of each era and provide precious little narrative to hold the whole work together. The only exception to the brief lectures in history is the final chapter where the author gives his own advice to the State Department in the wake of the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan. Wolpert discourages US arming of the Afghan rebels and comes out in favor of South Asian detente and a huge US economic recovery program.

B. AFGHANISTAN

"Accept Us and You Won't Regret It." The Economist, 27 February 1982, p. 53.

Russian military forces in Afghanistan are trying new carrot and stick tactics. Afghans prepared to cooperate with the regime in Kabul are offered a remarkable amount of freedom. Villagers who keep the guerrillas out of their areas can choose their own leaders and can request financial aid from the government. Inhabitants who continue to resist or shelter insurgents, however, are punished ruthlessly by Russian scorched earth tactics, indiscriminate bombing, and summary executions.

"Afghanistan: A Tightening Stranglehold." India Today. 15 February 1982, p. 80.

Moscow's determination to crush the Islamic resistance and maintain a pliant Communist regime in power shows no end in sight. After visiting Kabul, staff writers for the magazine report that Soviet control extends little beyond the daylight hours in the centralmost districts of the capital city.

"After Panjshir." The Economist, 26 June 1982, p. 40.

Both sides are claiming victory in the recent Soviet and DRA offensive in the Panjshir Valley. Until the latest battles in the area, the Panjshir was the most liberated region of Afghanistan. It had become a symbol of the Afghan resistance because it had withstood several Soviet attempts to overrun it and had begun to flaunt its freedom, with rebels running schools, libraries, hospitals, law courts, and a radio station in the area. The Kabul regime reportedly has now moved two army regiments, three battalions of policemen, and 1,500 militia members to keep the valley in government hands.

Amin, Tahir. Afghanistan Crisis: Implications and Options for the Muslim World, Iran and Pakistan. Islamabad: Institute of Policy Studies, 1982.

"Another Afghanistan." Asiaweek, 12 March 1982, p. 16.

Propagandists of the Karmal regime paint a rosy picture of conditions in war-torn Afghanistan. Life in the country is depicted as "calm and quiet as it always was" with government bulletins describing the post-Daud years as "a period of prosperity and progress."

"As Stalin Said. . ." The Economist, 13 March 1982, p. 58.

The Russians are trying a subtle new tactic in Afghanistan. They are encouraging local culture and traditions in different parts of the country in the hope that Afghans will turn away from thoughts of national identity, which is the mainspring of the resistance to Soviet occupation.

Beck, William T., Denis, Ronald L., et al. "Afghanistan: What Impact on Soviet Tactics?" Military Review, vol. 62 (March 1982), p. 2.

A group of six budding analysts at a US Army academy try their hand at piecing together the strategic implications of the Soviet decision to invade Afghanistan in December 1979. After detailing the elements of surprise and massive show of force that were involved in the first days of the occupation, the authors draw some tentative comparisons and contrasts with similar Soviet maneuvers in Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and the Middle East.

Chaliand, Gerard. Report from Afghanistan. New York: Viking Press, 1982.

The author is a French journalist who gives his impressions of the Afghan insurgency after several trips behind rebel lines.

Fullerton, John. "The Blood Feud Goes on." Far Eastern Economic Review, 26 March 1982, p. 40.

Soviet efforts to defeat the guerrillas continue to be hampered by the persistent rivalries that divide the Kabul regime. The recent PDPA congress which ended on 15 March apparently failed to heal the rift between the rival Parcham (Flag) and Khalq (Masses) factions. The conference itself produced a draft program for endorsement by the politburo, but its real aim was to demonstrate consensus in PDPA ranks, a purpose which probably failed when seven people died in disputes and shootouts among party members.

Fullerton, John. "Guerrilla Dunkirk." Far Eastern Economic Review, 19 March 1982, p. 16.

A combined Soviet and Afghan Government offensive against the guerrilla redoubt of the Panjshir Valley caught the Afghan rebels by surprise and inflicted major losses. In a conventional attack that lasted nearly a week, Russian and Afghan Government infantry supported by armor, heavy artillery, and airstrikes, advanced through the valley on two axes, killing up to 1,000 resistance fighters and civilian supporters. A major defeat was narrowly averted by the Afghan rebels when government forces failed to close one jaw of a pincer movement that was aimed at encircling the mujahideen units. Because many of the guerrillas narrowly escaped death or capture and managed to escape with their weapons, journalists have labeled the action the "Dunkirk of the Afghan Resistance."

Fullerton, John. "More Hit Than Run." Far Eastern Economic Review, 11 June 1982, p. 28.

Soviet and Kabul regime forces are showing increasingly aggressive tactics in Afghanistan. In one operation against the rebel-held town of Kholm in Samangan Province, they reduced the city center to rubble by an artillery and mortar bombardment, killed 150 rebel fighters and 950 noncombatants, and abducted 4,000 villagers. The new tactics are proving effective against the mujahideen. By short, intensive assaults on key villages and towns, the Soviets are trying to free major communications routes and potential targets from the threat of mujahideen hit-and-run attacks.

Fullerton, John. "Moscow Opens the Door." Far Eastern Economic Review, 4 June 1982, p. 29.

The International Red Cross hopes to gain access to Afghan jails and prisoner-of-war camps and to place medical personnel on the battlefields in Afghanistan. The expectation comes on the heels of the release by the mujahideen of three Russian prisoners who are being flown to internment in Switzerland for 2 years or for the duration of the war.

Male, Beverly. Revolutionary Afghanistan, A Reappraisal. London: Croom Helm, 1982.

Malik, Hafeez. "The Afghan Crisis and Its Impact on Pakistan." Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies, vol. 5 (Spring 1982).

The author sees Soviet encroachments into the Indian subcontinent as a calculated policy of expansionism that has its roots in the days of Czarist Russia. The results of this expansion have been most keenly felt by Pakistan, which may be the next target for the Kremlin. Acting in the role of safehaven for Afghan refugees and guerrilla partisans, Pakistan finds itself with few options but to oppose the inroads of the Soviet Union. The author predicts that Pakistan will some day have to open talks with the Karmal regime, with or without the company of Iran or the Afghan political parties in Peshawar.

"Moscow's Revenge." Asiaweek, 26 March 1982, p. 19.

In a major punitive action that caused 600 guerrilla combat deaths plus 400 subsequent summary executions in the Sa'id Kheil area of Parwan Province, Russian military forces have shown the will and capacity to inflict harsh reprisals on the mujahideen. Whether this tactic will set the tone of forthcoming Soviet strategy for Afghanistan remains to be seen. However, the Russian policy of massive, bludgeoning retaliation, irrespective of civilian casualties, has borne fruit in several areas, including Herat and Kandahar, where the urban population allegedly has requested the mujahideen to withdraw from these localities.

"Old Bear in an Old Trap." The Economist, 8 May 1982, p. 68.

The mujahideen are once again on the offensive, undaunted by the setbacks suffered during one of the worst winters in memory. They have learned much in their 2½ years of fighting the Soviets and the puppet regime in Kabul, and they are better armed and equipped than at any previous time of the insurgency. However, their Soviet enemy also is now a much more formidable force which has learned from its past mistakes and is adopting new tactics and new armaments.

Ram, Mohan. "Jihad, Soviet-Style." Far Eastern Economic Review, 19 March 1982, p. 16.

Soviet propagandists are trying a new tack in Afghanistan. The earlier strategy to polarize the Afghan population between the Pushtuns (who provide much of the driving force behind the anti-Soviet resistance) and the other ethnic groups by wooing the latter with special inducements has been abandoned. Instead, the Soviets are employing a more evenhanded approach to winning over the population. A recent appeal notes that "all nationalities and tribes" have equal rights and points out that the PDPA and DRA are committed to insuring those rights.

"A Rebel Victory?" Asiaweek, 11 June 1982, p. 14.

The latest Soviet and Afghan Army attempt to take the guerrilla redoubt of the Panjshir Valley appears to have been met with heavy resistance by the mujahideen. After severe fighting, the Afghan rebels of Burhanuddin Rabani's Jamiat-Islami claim to have killed 700 enemy and destroyed 21 aircraft, while acknowledging losses of 300 personnel, including civilians killed in air raids.

"Side by Side with Cordovez." The Economist, 26 June 1982, p. 40.

For the first time in the Afghan crisis, Pakistan has exchanged views indirectly with representatives of the Kabul regime, using UN envoy Diego Cordovez as intermediary. Pakistani delegates in turn kept Iranian diplomats and Afghan insurgent leaders apprised of the proceedings. Iran had refused to attend the discussions and the insurgents deliberately were not invited. In the meantime, the Afghan rebel organizations headquartered in Peshawar are worried that the Pakistanis, having exploited the Soviet invasion to win US arms and diplomatic support, are now ready to defuse the Afghan issue to patch up their own relations with Moscow.

Vertzberger, Yaacov. "Afghanistan in China's Policy." Problems of Communism, vol. 31 (May-June 1982), p. 1.

In the author's view, the 1978 coup in Kabul and particularly the December 1979 Soviet invasion have sharply increased the salience of Afghanistan and adjacent areas in the foreign policy thinking of China. Beijing views events there as part of a Soviet master plan aimed at controlling the oil routes of the Middle East, undermining the independence of Europe, and encircling China. The Chinese response has been to seek a united front with Western Europe, Japan, Pakistan, and the United States to counter Soviet expansionism.

Wafadar, K. (pseud). "Afghanistan in 1981: The Struggle Intensifies." Asian Survey, vol. 22 (February 1982), p. 148.

The author summarizes the 2d year of Soviet occupation as a further setback for the Kremlin's plan of installing a pliant Communist regime in Kabul. The Karmal regime is rent with internal divisions, the Army is suffering from defections and poor morale, and the security situation in the countryside is controlled almost exclusively by the mujahideen. Economically, Afghanistan is slowly being drawn into the Socialist world system and ties with the West are weak. After expertly summing up the stakes involved in the Afghan independence movement, the author pointedly asks whether the United States and the world community have enough determination to assist the Afghans in dislodging the Soviets from their country.

"War of the Airwaves." India Today, 31 May 1982, p. 76.

The article covers the efforts of Bernard Henry-Levy and a network of French and Afghan supporters to set up a mujahideen broadcasting frequency inside occupied Afghanistan. The group's finances, accomplishments, and future plans are discussed.

"Who Is Winning?" Asiaweek, 29 January 1982, p. 19.

Cover story notes that 2 years after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the resistance, active within all of the country's 28 provinces, has grounds for self-congratulation. Observers traveling behind rebel lines report that the mujahideen now appear better armed, organized, coordinated, and prepared psychologically to confront the Soviet occupation forces than ever before. Diplomatic informants also report a perceptible deterioration in road security during the last year as result of increased guerrilla ambushes and increased daylight attacks. In spite of this, there is no expectation that



the guerrilla fighters can defeat the Soviets in a conventional military engagement fought on Soviet terms. To do so, the mujahideen would need more and heavier weapons and sufficient unity among guerrilla movements to place large military formations in the field.

United States. Department of State. Chemical Warfare in Southeast Asia and Afghanistan: Report to the Congress, from Secretary of State Alexander M. Haig, 22 March 1982. Washington, D.C.: US Dept of State, 1982.

C. BANGLADESH

"After the Coup, A Crackdown." Asiaweek, 9 April 1982, p. 18.

Lt Gen Hussain M. Ershad seizes power in a bloodless, widely expected coup in Bangladesh. Lt Gen Ershad promises a clean-up campaign to eradicate official corruption and malfeasance and appoints a combined military-civilian advisory council to help run the country. He divides the nation into five administrative districts governed by a high-ranking military officer and appoints Ahsanuddin Chowdhury, a retired judge, as president.

Ali, Salamat. "Business as Usual." Far Eastern Economic Review, 23 April 1982, p. 30.

Prior to the bloodless coup in Bangladesh, India was preparing a new bid to woo Dacca. Now this has given way to a wait-and-see attitude and the prospective trip of Indian FM Narasimha Rao to Dacca has been postponed indefinitely. Strategically, New Delhi's worst fear is that its three largest neighbors, China, Pakistan, and Bangladesh, will unite against India. During the past 3 months, delegations from Beijing and Dacca have exchanged visits and a Chinese military team was in Bangladesh in early March.

"The Army Wants More Power." Asiaweek, 29 January 1982, p. 12.

Military strongman Gen Mohammed Ershad has rejected as irrelevant the idea of a National Security Council composed of top civilian and military figures in the government. Ershad's rejection has placed in the balance the fate of Bangladesh's 2-month-old elected government. It is believed that the military hierarchy would prefer a smaller council of four or five top-ranking officers instead of the proposed seven civilians and three military men. This, however, is not likely to be acceptable to the Bangladesh National Party which views a military-dominated council as a threat to democracy.

"Cleaning House." Asiaweek, 26 February 1982, p. 22.

Bangladesh President Abdus Sattar dismisses his cabinet which had been the target of criticism by both the Army and the president's own Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP).

"The Coup Cometh." The Economist, 27 March 1982, p. 26.

The bloodless coup staged by Lt Gen Ershad came as no surprise. The General had been openly demanding that the Army be given a formal role in government and that corrupt politicians be dismissed. President Abdus Sattar responded with ineffectual cabinet reshuffles that retained the same officials in power. Lt Gen Ershad has promised to appoint another civilian president and to set up an advisory council. One of his hardest tasks will be to reconcile the conflict within the Army between the "freedom fighters" who fought against Pakistan in 1971 and those military officers who were compelled to sit out the war in West Pakistan.

Franda, Marcus. "The Death of Ziaur Rahman." University Field Service Institute Reports. Asia No. 2, 1982.

Just as the title points out, this most recent Franda piece exhaustively details the drama and conspiracies surrounding the killing of Bangladesh's

most able national leader. Franda paints a dreary picture of the episode. Included are biographical sketches of the leading actors in the drama and the numerous theories that surround the failed coup.

Johnson, B. L. C. Bangladesh. 2d edition. London: Heinemann Educational, 1982.

Kamaluddin, S. "Back to the Villages." Far Eastern Economic Review, 7 May 1982, p. 35.

Bangladesh's new military government appears to be achieving its objective of convincing the people that it is determined to carry out major social and administrative reforms that successive governments in the past have failed to do. The new military strongman, Lt Gen Hussain M. Ershad, has restructured the administrative system with a three-tier apparatus comprising at the top, the central government in Dacca, the districts in the middle and at the lowest level, the thana (village or township, the lowest level of political organization). The thana also has been given sufficient authority to make decisions on local affairs. The idea behind the government shakeup, according to Lt Gen Ershad, is to decentralize the administration, bring responsive government to the people, and to create job opportunities at the local level. Bangladesh's new military rulers have also talked about land reform and have emphasized cooperative farming in the country.

Kamaluddin, S. "A Bar by the Bar." Far Eastern Economic Review, 11 June 1982, p. 10.

The Supreme Court Association of Bangladesh, by going on a 1-day boycott, has registered its discontent with a decision by the martial law regime to decentralize government machinery and make it more responsive to the people.

Kamaluddin, S. "A Bengali Circus." Far Eastern Economic Review, 15 January 1982, p. 14.

The widow of the late President Ziaur Rahman has withdrawn from the race for the chairmanship of the Bangladesh Nationalist Party. This decision by the former first lady of Bangladesh insures the unopposed election of President Abdus Sattar to the top party post. It has not diminished the precariousness of the president's position, however, as he walks a tightrope between the demands of the Army and the intrigues of various political factions.

Kamaluddin, S. "Changing of the Guard." Far Eastern Economic Review, 19 March 1982, p. 12.

The failure of President Abdus Sattar's government to offer the country a strong and decisive administration seems to have finally persuaded the army leaders of Bangladesh to make their move. Accordingly, the country may have an Indonesian-style, army-dominated government in the very near future.

Kamaluddin, S. "Dacca's Summer Sale." Far Eastern Economic Review, 18 June 1982, p. 90.

In a new industrial policy promulgated in early June, the martial law administration of Lt Gen H.M. Ershad wants to turn most Bangladeshi state industries over to private enterprise. The basic thrust of the new policy is

comprised in a 15-point program to "expand the manufacturing sector with increased private sector participation and to develop indigenous technology and encourage judicious application of appropriate technology."

Kamaluddin, S. "Friends and Neighbors." Far Eastern Economic Review, 28 May 1982, p. 16.

Saudi Arabia appears to be giving more attention to the situation in the Indian Subcontinent. One main focus of its concern is the relationship between India and Bangladesh. Indian PM Indira Gandhi presented New Delhi's perception of regional peace and security and its linkage with the Persian Gulf when she visited Saudi Arabia in late April. Bangladeshi strongman Lt Gen Ershad, during his own trip to Riyadh this month, impressed on his Saudi hosts a different view of regional security, pointing out that Bangladesh is more apprehensive of India than any other country in the region. Ershad also told the Saudi leaders that Dacca has been trying to forge closer ties with New Delhi and wants the speedy resolution of all outstanding bilateral problems. These problems at the present time include the sharing of the Ganges River water assets and the demarcation of land and water boundaries, with concomitant resolution of the ownership dispute over New Moore (South Talpatty Island) in the Bay of Bengal.

Kamaluddin, S. "Gently Does It." Far Eastern Economic Review, 16 April 1982, p. 20.

The regime of new strongman Lt Gen Hussain M. Ershad has shied away from major policy changes, preferring to consolidate itself first. One of the major preoccupations of the military government is not to appear too repressive in the face of the forthcoming meeting in Paris of the World Bank-led consortium of donor countries to Bangladesh. The regime, nevertheless, has promised to stamp out corruption and has streamlined the administration by reducing the number of ministries. On the economic front, Lt Gen Ershad has promised that investment policies would be made more pragmatic and liberal and has outlined the five point economic program for his regime: achievement of a 7 percent growth rate for the next FY beginning in July; prevention of waste in the public sector; encouragement of private investment; achievement of food self-sufficiency; and curbing of runaway population growth.

Kamaluddin, S. "Heading Off a Showdown." Far Eastern Economic Review, 12 February 1982, p. 14.

Confronting a possible food crisis, President Abdus Sattar faces increasing restiveness from the Army and tries to appease dissidents in his ruling Bangladesh Nationalist Party by making the cabinet changes they are demanding.

Kamaluddin, S. "Marching Order." Far Eastern Economic Review, 2 April 1982, p. 22.

In the wake of the bloodless coup in Bangladesh, new military strongman Lt Gen Hussain M. Ershad is turning his attention to the rapidly deteriorating economy which he inherited from ousted President Abdus Sattar. He has appointed 11 members to an advisory council which will monitor the work of the ministries. The council members will also serve as deputy martial law administrators. At a recent press conference, Ershad announced that his timetable for a general election and return to democratic rule was 2 years.

Kamaluddin, S. "Musical Factions." Far Eastern Economic Review, 1 January 1982, p. 31.

Prime Minister Shah Azizur Rahman's initiative to oust former petroleum minister Akbar Hossain from parliament has widened the rift in the faction-ridden Bangladesh National Party. Strife is also reported in the opposition party, the Awami League, where a power struggle between the two major wings of the party has intensified.

Kamaluddin, S. "Sattar Falls Into Line." Far Eastern Economic Review, 19 February 1982, p. 8.

In a move to consolidate his hold on power and meet some of the demands of his critics in the army and the ruling Bangladesh National Party (BNP), President Abdus Sattar dismissed his entire 42-man cabinet and appointed a smaller one the following day. Sattar explained his action as the first step to eradicate corruption and inefficiency in the government.

Kamaluddin, S. "Witness for the Prosecution." Far Eastern Economic Review. 26 February 1982, p. 16.

The Bangladesh Government, under army prodding, has taken a tough stance on law and order. Crackdowns on criminals for common law violations have disclosed that some of the malefactors have major political connections.

Khan, Zillur R. "Bangladesh in 1981: Change, Stability, and Leadership." Asian Survey, vol. 22 (February 1982), p. 163.

Because this article was produced prior to the Ershad coup in March, the author met a deadline before the events in Dacca had been fully played out. Not surprisingly, Khan's thesis is already out of date. Khan places great store in the peaceful transition after the assassination of Ziaur Rahman. While he is alive to the fact that political stability has always been an elusive ideal in Bangladesh, Khan seems to be hoping against hope that the Sattar government can carry on the progressive legacy of Zia against the political inroads of the military. On the military side of the power equation, Khan confirms that the most recent power struggles have eclipsed the influence of the "freedom fighter" faction of the army. The so-called "repatriates" who were interned in Pakistan during the 1971 struggle have emerged as the dominant faction under the Chief of Staff (and now martial law administrator) H. M. Ershad.

Osmani, Siddiqur Rahman. Economic Inequality and Group Welfare. A Theory of Comparison with Application to Bangladesh. Oxford: Charendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press, 1982.

Rashiduzzaman, M. "Bangladesh Today." Current History, vol. 81 (May 1982).

This brief piece, written before Ershad's March coup d'etat, summarizes the political and economic turmoil that has faced Bangladesh in its first decade of independence. The author sees little immediate relief for the country's factionalized political parties. This power vacuum has left the way open for the military to take the lead in domestic politics. The author posits that the strapped Bangladeshi economy faces a "long road ahead." Economic issues will probably decide the fate of the regime in power.

D. BHUTAN

THE AREA UNDER THE  
OF THE AREA UNDER THE  
Ram, Mohan. "Don't Trust Your Neighbor." Far Eastern Economic Review, 23 April  
1982, p. 30.

China is giving fresh indications that it wants direct relations with Bhutan, which has long maintained a special relationship with India. Beijing apparently regards as an obstacle a 1949 treaty under which the Bhutanese agreed to be guided by India in the conduct of foreign affairs.



E. INDIA

Ali, Salamat. "Business as Usual." Far Eastern Economic Review, 23 April 1982, p. 30.

Prior to the bloodless coup in Bangladesh, India was preparing a new bid to woo Dacca. Now this has given way to a wait-and-see attitude and the prospective trip of Indian FM Narasimha Rao to Dacca has been postponed indefinitely. Strategically, New Delhi's worst fear is that its three largest neighbors, China, Pakistan, and Bangladesh, will unite against India. During the past 3 months, delegations from Beijing and Dacca have exchanged visits and a Chinese military team was in Bangladesh in early March.

Ali, Salamat. "Clouds Over Kashmir." Far Eastern Economic Review, 5 March 1982, p. 10.

After a rhetorical clash with Pakistan over the sensitive Kashmir issue, India has postponed indefinitely further talks on a possible nonaggression pact between the two countries. The chain of minor diplomatic clashes which led to the rupture makes little sense to anyone except Indians and Pakistanis who have fought two wars already over the disputed territory of Jammu and Kashmir. The Indian announcement cancelling the talks caught both government and public off guard in Islamabad, but Pakistani officials insist the negotiations will go on although they offer no estimate when they will be resumed.

Ali, Salamat. "The Credibility Gap." Far Eastern Economic Review, 12 February 1982, p. 23.

Cover story analyzes the accomplishments and failings of the Gandhi government in India. While all the problems of an over populated and impoverished land are not necessarily of her making, Mrs. Gandhi, as the undisputed leader of the nation, and as one who has been at the helm of state since 1966 (except for the Janata interregnum), is held responsible for much that is wrong with India, just as she is personally credited with the accomplishments of her government. The conclusion is that Mrs. Gandhi has failed to live up to her promises but her grip on power appears to be unshaken.

Ali, Salamat. "Peace in a New Package." Far Eastern Economic Review, 11 June 1982, p. 8.

Prospects for detente on the Indian Subcontinent seem remote as ever despite President Zia-ul Haq's consent to a proposal from PM Indira Gandhi that the two governments resume their stalled dialog on bilateral relations. In her personal letter responding to Gen. Zia, Mrs. Gandhi chided the Pakistani leader that some of his statements were not aimed at promoting goodwill between the two countries and referred indirectly to assertions from Islamabad that Pakistan's northern areas had always been an integral part of the country and not part of the disputed state of Kashmir. Nevertheless, the Gandhi letter proposed the resumption of a dialog on forming an Indo-Pakistani Commission, on a bilateral treaty of friendship and amity, and on Pakistan's proposal for a no-war pact. Gandhi's grudging concession to resume negotiations with Pakistan may have been due to a desire to regain the diplomatic initiative from Pakistan and to be viewed as an agent of peace and moderation in the region.

Ali, Salamat. "Power Politics." Far Eastern Economic Review, 19 March 1982, p. 24.

A spirit of compromise has prevailed in New Delhi and Kathmandu in sharing the resources of the Himalayan watershed. Bilateral talks in India last month have ironed out longstanding differences over three major Nepalese hydroelectric projects on the Karnali, Rapti, and Mahakali Rivers that will benefit both countries.

Ali, Salamat. "The Second Switzerland." Far Eastern Economic Review, 26 March 1982, p. 28.

India thinks over the proposal to make Nepal a zone of peace, thereby raising hopes in the Himalayan kingdom.

Ali, Salamat. "Slow March to Detente." Far Eastern Economic Review, 5 February 1982, p. 10.

Proposing in rapid succession a friendship treaty and a permanent joint commission to review and promote Indo-Pakistani relations, PM Indira Gandhi has wrested from Pakistan the diplomatic initiative generated by Islamabad's offer of a nonaggression pact. Nevertheless, at the conclusion of talks at the foreign minister level, Indo-Pakistani detente still seems remote.

"Amiable Amateur." The Economist, 22 May 1982, p. 53.

Rajiv Gandhi is beginning to appear as a liability to the Congress Party although he will not be drummed out as long as his mother survives politically. He has remained disdainful and aloof from the Congress Party which is a monumental network of corruption, extortion, and patronage, and which in many states maintains standing armies of thugs and bandits. He has remained isolated from the unsavory tangle of politicians about him, and has failed to establish any dominance over them. Rajiv Gandhi is a technocrat and his advisers are mostly young, westernized business entrepreneurs. He is serving his political apprenticeship by organizing the Asian Games, a task which is far removed from the often violent struggles of Congress politics.

Andersen, Walter K. "India in 1981: Stronger Political Authority and Social Tension." Asian Survey, vol. 22 (February 1982), p. 119.

The Congress-I government of Indira Gandhi has weathered a series of domestic challenges that have threatened, but failed, to undo the supposed "government that works." The corruption scandal brought on by the unethical practices of Maharashtra Chief Minister Antulay emboldened the fractious opposition parties and forced Mrs. Gandhi to exert more authority over her own wayward party members. Andersen stresses that India is, more than ever, a one woman show. All major decisions are made by Mrs. Gandhi and subordinates are hesitant to chart new policies for fear of running afoul of the Gandhi family. Issues which dominated the domestic scene in India in 1981 included: the farmers' protests, the antireservation stir, and the Khalistan agitation.

Appadorai, Angadipuram, ed. Select Documents on India's Foreign Policy & Relations, 1947-72. Vol. I (no imprint), 1982.



"Fat in the Fire." The Economist, 8 May 1982, p. 71.

Communal violence erupts in the Punjab as Sikhs and Hindus desecrate each other's places of worship. The government responds by banning the extremist Sikh organization, the Dal Khalsa. However, the Sikh political party, the Akali Dal, attempts to take its place and project itself as the champion of the Sikh cause against the Hindus.

Franda, Marcus. "Fundamentalism, Nationalism and Secularism Among Muslim Indians." American Universities Field Staff Reports, no. 46, 1981.

This survey of the social and political status of 10 percent of India's population examines the diversity that characterizes the Muslim community. Although most Muslims aspire to the social solidarity that is a fundamental tenet of Islam, the political reality is that the Muslims of India are not a unified, cohesive grouping. Long neglected by the political process, except perhaps at election time, Muslims are still grappling for an understanding of their role in a secular society. Muslims must also contend with widespread suspicions that they can never be integrated into the mainstream of Indian political life because they still harbor loyalties to Islamic Pakistan. Franda concludes: "There is one, clear certainty: to the extent that Indian Muslims refuse integration on any terms, are excluded from any kind of integrative process by non-Muslims, or find themselves unable to engage in a meaningful dialog about integration, India's domestic and international problems will become the more severe."

Gandhi, Indira. My Truth. Presented by Emmanuel Pouchpadass. New York: Grove Press, 1982.

Gautam, Sen. India's Defense Policy. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1982.

This book traces the development of the shift in India's defense policy from that of a passive stance in the 1950s to a posture of deterrence in the 1980s.

Guha, Seema. "Contending Chauvinisms." Economic and Political Weekly (New Delhi), 8 May 1982.

The author investigates the rising tide of Hindu chauvinism in the volatile states of the Indian northeast. Organizations such as the Vishwa Hindu Parishad have intensified their efforts in the region, trying to counter the influence of Christian missionaries. The author believes that this Hindu revival has increased tensions in the region and has fed the separatist movements that have been raging since independence. In Assam, the Hindu revivalists are trying to convince New Delhi to eject only Bengali Muslims while increasing the strength of the Hindu community in the state by encouraging Hindu immigration.

Kumar, Dharma and Raychaudhuri, Tapan, eds. The Cambridge Economic History of India. Two vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982.

This book traces the economic evolution of the Indian Subcontinent from the 13th century to modern times. Historians, economists, sociologists, social anthropologists, and demographers collaborate to summarize existing knowledge and to undertake new research.

"Lost Touch." The Economist, 29 May 1982, p. 50.

Mrs. Gandhi's political magic failed last week when the Congress-I Party failed to win fewer than a quarter of the seats it contested in four state assembly elections and seven parliamentary by-elections. Its only victory occurred in Kerala where the Congress-I was part of an 11-party coalition which eked out a bare majority. The biggest defeat was at the hands of the CPM in West Bengal which traditionally has been dominant in that state. The most humiliating setbacks were in Haryana and Himachal Pradesh where the Congress-I had campaigned long and hard.

Mansergh, Nicholas and Lumby, E. W. R., eds. The Transfer of Power in India, 1942-47. Twelve vols. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1970-1982.

This work, published over a 12-year period, comprises unpublished documents drawn either from the official archives of the India Office in the custody of the India Office Records or private collections of the Viceregal papers in the India Office Library. The 12 volumes are separately titled as follows: vol. 1--The Cripps Mission, January - April 1942; vol. 2--Quit India, 30 April - 21 September 1942; vol. 3--Reassertion of Authority, Gandhi's Fast, and the Succession to the Viceroyalty, 21 September 1942 - 12 June 1943; vol. 4--The Bengal Famine and the New Viceroyalty, 15 June 1943 - 31 August 1944; vol. 5--The Simla Conference, Background and Proceedings, 1 September 1944 - 28 July 1945; vol. 6--The Post-War Phase: New Moves by the Labour Government, 1 August 1945 - 22 March 1946; vol. 7--The Cabinet Mission, 23 March - 29 June 1946; vol. 8--The Interim Government, 3 July - 1 November 1946; vol. 9--The Fixing of a Time Limit, 4 November 1946 - 22 March 1947; vol. 10--The Mountbatten Viceroyalty, Announcement and Reception of the 3 June Plan. (Volumes 11 and 12 to be published at a later date.)

"Merits of Horsemanship." The Economist, 26 June 1982, p. 42.

The frontrunner for the post of India's next president is lackluster Congress-I stalwart Zail Singh. Presently serving as Home Minister, Singh is regarded as one of the least effective Indian officials ever to serve in that position. He has no intellectual pretensions, little political acumen and was picked by Mrs. Gandhi for the quality she prizes most in all her political associates: an unswerving loyalty to herself.

"A New Toe in the Snow." The Economist, 30 January 1982, p. 48.

India has sent an expedition to Antarctica and may set up a permanent research station as a means of staking its claim to any future mineral and marine exploitation of the frozen continent.

Patten, Steve. "Is India Pulling Away from Russia?" U.S. News and World Report, 15 February 1982. (Includes an interview with Indira Gandhi.)

Mrs. Gandhi's friendly signals to Washington, Beijing, and Islamabad are cited by the author as evidence that India may well be in the process of distancing itself from the Soviet Union as part of an effort to recoup international prestige tarnished by the recognition of Kampuchea and an equivocal stance on Afghanistan. In an accompanying in-depth interview, Gandhi makes it clear that she will embark on no foreign policy venture that will jeopardize India's close relations with the Kremlin. While she is

desirous of improved relations with the Reagan administration in the aftermath of the F-16 controversy, she still displays strong suspicions of American motives in supporting Pakistan at the expense of India's friendship.

"The Persuaders." The Economist, 9 January 1982, p. 46.

Intercommunal violence has increased in India in the last 2 years. Law and order is gradually collapsing, especially in northern India, a phenomenon which has been made worse by the growing links between politicians and criminals. Intimidation of voters is an old practice that continues in India. The legal system with its long delays favors the criminal who may appeal a conviction, knowing it will take years before the case is heard. The lower judiciary is ineffective and riddled with corruption. The judicial process is increasingly seen as irrelevant by politicians, police, and the general public.

Ram, Mohan. "Black Rupee Rulers." Far Eastern Economic Review, 29 January 1982, p. 18.

Corruption has become part of the growing permissiveness in India's political culture. While over the past 30 years there have been over 200 government commissions which have inquired into official corruption, only a few politicians have left office as a result of findings against them. Corrupt politicians are difficult to bring to heel in India because of laws that specify that no charges may be brought against them without the sanction of the state governor or president. The height of official malfeasance in public office is symbolized by the recent case of A. R. Antulay, the Chief Minister of Maharashtra, who was finally ousted after a state High Court indicted him on charges of political corruption.

Ram, Mohan. "Communism, Communalism and the Congress." Far Eastern Economic Review, 12 February 1982, p. 26.

PM Indira Gandhi has a matchless national following and presides over a formidable majority in parliament. Nevertheless, her supremacy is an illusion and the dominance of the country's politics by a single party has come under severe strain as secessionist demands and regional strains on the central government challenge Gandhi's leadership. The article analyzes the various secessionist and dissident movements that are exerting a centrifugal force on the country. The article concludes that the Congress-I will continue to dominate national politics while Mrs. Gandhi is at the helm, but could disintegrate once she passes from the scene. This in turn could lead to unstable coalition politics in many of the states, at least in the short term.

Ram, Mohan. "Constitutional Conundrum." Far Eastern Economic Review, 16 April 1982, p. 30.

The ruling Congress-I Party failed to get a two-thirds majority in last month's election to the Rajya Sabha. This means that the major barrier to a constitutional change for a presidential form of government has been left intact. This is believed to be the type of government for which Mrs. Gandhi is planning, before her term ends in 1985. While the Congress Party has the required strength in the lower house, a constitutional amendment needs a two-thirds majority in both houses of the bicameral parliament.

Ram, Mohan. "The Government Gets Ready to Strike Against Strikers." Far Eastern Economic Review, 12 February 1982, p. 28.

Trade unions are protesting a law revived by Mrs. Gandhi under which citizens may be detained without trial, and an official ban on strikes in whatever industries and services the government deems essential. A 1-day strike on 19 January 1982 was denounced by Gandhi as antinational and aimed at ousting her from office. Political opposition and labor leaders remain undaunted at Gandhi's denunciation of the strike and the harsh measures taken to suppress it, and are preparing for another round of confrontation with the government.

Ram, Mohan. "Jumping the Gun." Far Eastern Economic Review, 26 March 1982, p. 14.

India recently was an embarrassed host to Soviet Defense Minister Dmitri Ustinov who brought with him to New Delhi, ostensibly on a goodwill visit, one of the most high-ranking Soviet military delegations ever to go to a non-Communist country. The Soviet group which came to India comprised some 40 senior officers, including the commanders of the Air Force and Navy, the deputy commander of the Red Army, and about 30 lieutenant generals. The visit was proposed entirely on Soviet initiative and may have been intended to dissuade New Delhi from seeking armaments from other sources so that Moscow could retain its edge as India's leading arms supplier.

Ram, Mohan. "A Lady in Waiting--For What?" Far Eastern Economic Review, 8 January 1982, p. 32.

India's fragmented opposition parties fear that authoritarian trends in the country are growing and that PM Indira Gandhi will switch to a presidential form of government this year to consolidate her personal power.

Ram, Mohan. "Lamas and the Lion." Far Eastern Economic Review, 19 February 1982, p. 16.

The Ladakh region is demanding special autonomous status within the state of Kashmir. These demands led to violent riots last month in Leh. The state government of Sheikh Abdullah, the "Lion of Kashmir," is likely to oppose any erosion of its authority dictated by New Delhi to placate the Ladakhis.

Ram, Mohan. "Left, Right and Center." Far Eastern Economic Review, 28 May 1982, p. 15.

Halfway through her 5-year tenure, PM Indira Gandhi has failed to win an absolute majority in the four states which elected legislative assemblies on May 19. The election results may point to her waning charisma and the decline of one-party dominance in India's politics. It also may raise doubts about the Congress-I ability to retain its hold on the central government when India elects a new parliament in early 1985. In the recent elections, the leftwing coalition dominated by the Communist Party of India-Marxist (CPM) won a landslide victory in West Bengal, capturing 238 out of 294 seats. In the southern state of Kerala, the Congress-I won only 20 out of 140 seats, with the CPM getting 25. In Haryana, the Congress-I won 33 seats out of 90, with the opposition Lok Dal securing 31, and its electoral ally the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) getting 6. In Himachal Pradesh, the Congress-I won 31 seats out of 68, with the BJP getting 29.



Ram, Mohan. "Musical Defections." Far Eastern Economic Review, 11 June 1982, p. 8.

In India, political defection in which legislators switch party loyalties without regard for the constituents who elected them is a game carried on with impunity for the lure of power or money. In an egregious example of political defection in the recent state elections, the Congress-I Party retained power in Haryana although it won only 36 out of 90 seats. This was accomplished when New Delhi backed Chief Minister Bhajan Lal, induced some 10 to 14 opposition legislators to defect to the ruling party, and rewarded them with ministerial positions. Opponents of Lal called the tactic political piracy and electoral fraud.

Ram, Mohan. "Out in the Cold." Far Eastern Economic Review, 9 April 1982, p. 8.

The struggle for the mantle of PM Indira Gandhi's succession, worn by the late Sanjay Gandhi, continues, pitting his widow Maneka against Rajiv, the eldest son of Mrs. Gandhi. Last week, the conflict split the Gandhi family. Maneka was expelled from Mrs. Gandhi's official residence and an exchange of acrimonious letters was widely published in the press.

Ram, Mohan. "A Package of Promises." Far Eastern Economic Review, 22 January 1982, p. 12.

Taunted by her critics over her failure to produce a "government that works," PM Indira Gandhi has begun her 3d year with a package of new promises and a reshuffle of her ministerial team. She is trying to assure a restive nation that she will produce results well before the next general elections due in early 1985.

Ram, Mohan. "Paris Comes A-Courting." Far Eastern Economic Review, 15 January 1982, p. 20.

President Mitterrand of France is opening the way for burgeoning ties with India by offering economic and defense cooperation. The most important and immediate French interest is in selling India the advanced Mirage 2000 fighter, which New Delhi sees as matching the F-16s Pakistan is acquiring from the United States. France has tried to make the package attractive, offering easy credit terms and other weapon systems. If the deal goes through--150 aircraft worth 35 billion rupees (\$3.18 billion), almost equal to India's annual defense budget--France could become India's second largest military supplier after the Soviet Union.

Ram, Mohan. "Righting the Balance." Far Eastern Economic Review, 18 June 1982, p. 30.

India seems to be moving toward a more balanced nonalignment, away from the cosy relationship it has had with its friendship treaty ally the USSR. The most recent developments presaging the shift in policy are an equivocation that amounts to support for Britain on the Falklands issue; the decision by PM Indira Gandhi to visit the United States in July, though she has yet to visit Moscow since her return to office in January 1980; and Indian interest in acquiring American military hardware.

Sahgal, Nayantara P. Indira Gandhi, Her Road to Power. New York: F. Ungar, 1982.

Part of this book previously was published in India under the title Indira Gandhi's Emergence and Style.

Sengupta, Bhabani. "Caught in A Web." India Today, 30 June 1982, p. 62.

The political web that comprises the on-again off-again no-war talks between India and Pakistan is the subject of this incisive review. The author believes that both countries have become ensnared in the web and cannot break loose from it. In the absence of any rapid movement, both sides have resorted to stalling and battling in the press in whose "court" the diplomatic "ball" is. Despite these drawbacks, the author believes that "both Mrs. Gandhi and Zia realize that this is the time to bridge the India-Pakistan strategic divide that has enabled external powers to intervene in the subcontinent's affairs."

"A Setback for Indira Gandhi." Asiaweek, 4 June 1982, p. 21.

In 1980, PM Indira Gandhi swept back to power on a campaign platform pledging a government that worked. Today, at the midpoint of her 5-year term, indications are that she has not lived up to her promise. Law and order nationwide remains a problem, and there appears to be no respite from economic woes. In last week's four state assembly and seven by-elections, candidates endorsed by Mrs. Gandhi fared badly and lost in four by-elections. At the state level, the Congress-I Party made an unimpressive showing. In West Bengal, the Marxist-led coalition remained in power. In Haryana, the Lok Dal and the BJP won a very narrow victory over the Congress-I Party. In Himachal Pradesh, the BJP lost to the Congress-I by only two votes. In Kerala, the United Democratic Front, an alliance led by the Congress-I won 77 out of 140 seats. Of a total of 486 candidates fielded by the Congress-I in the four state elections, about 130 were successful in winning office.

Singh, Khushwant. "The Land of the Pure Worries New Delhi." Far Eastern Economic Review, 12 February 1982, p. 34.

This article traces the growth of the movement for a free Khalistan in the Punjab region of India and Pakistan and notes the political grievances of the Sikhs who since independence have been reduced from landlords to smallholders tilling their own land. The Khalistan movement allegedly has no support among Indian Sikhs living outside the Punjab, but has drawn some adherents within the region and among the Sikh Students' Federation. It draws most of its sustenance from Sikh emigrants in the US, Canada, and Britain who have no stake in its establishment, and continues to be exploited by both its supporters and opponents to wring concessions from the Indian Government.

Smith, Vincent Arthur. The Oxford History of India. Edited by Percival Spear, 4th edition. Delhi and New York: Oxford University Press, 1982.

"Sprucing Up the Band." India Today, 15 February 1982, p. 62.

Gandhi's shakeup of top cabinet officers and announcement of a 20-point economic program may not be enough to rescue the Congress-I government from

the shortfalls that inevitably result when one person--the Prime Minister--wields so much power.

"The Striking Terror." India Today, 28 February 1982, p. 50.

Bombay union kingpin Dr. Datta Samant has carved out a veritable empire in the textile mills of western India. Industrialists, party-based unions, and government officials are fearful of the power being amassed by this union warlord. Samant is fiercely loyal to his union members and presses wage demands to the limit, often employing resistance techniques perfected during the independence movement.

Subrahmanyam, K. "India's Image as a Major Power." Far Eastern Economic Review, 5 March 1982, p. 24.

One of India's leading defense hawks traces the change in foreign perceptions of India as a major power. In this respect, he sees India's reputation as having reached a nadir in the mid-1960s concurrently with the perceptions of China as a developing world power. The turning point for India, in Subrahmanyam's estimation, occurred in 1970 and 1971 in the war with Pakistan. This conflict aroused respect for Indian defense military prowess, and subsequent advances in agriculture, industry, and science, including the nuclear test of 1974, earned for India a growing positive image as an emerging world power. Among the other large nations of the world, only the United States, with perplexing obtuseness, has failed to come to terms with the concept of India as a major power.

"Subtle Shifts." India Today, 30 April 1982, p. 18.

In anticipation of forthcoming state assembly elections in four states, India Today publishes another public opinion poll to determine the mood of the voters. Also examined is the effect Mrs. Gandhi's wayward daughter-in-law Maneka is having on the fortunes of the Indian Prime Minister and her Congress-I Party.

"Sycophancy Unleashed." India Today, 31 January 1982, p. 68.

The political coming of age of Rajiv Gandhi is the subject of this highly critical story on the Gandhi family. The authors cover the installation of elder brother Rajiv as head of the Youth Congress-I--a position that brother Sanjay used as a power base before his death. The magazine decries the mindless hero-worship and the unprincipled politics that are the marks of Sanjay's followers to this day.

Thomas, Richard. India's Emergence as an Industrial Power: Middle Eastern Contracts. Hamden, Connecticut: Archon Books, 1982.

"Tremors of Tension." India Today, 15 April 1982, p. 14.

The many problems facing the Congress-I Party seem to be coming to a boil and Mrs. Gandhi could find herself saddled with some unpleasant disciplinary actions. Political ineptitude at the state level and the family feud involving Maneka and Rajiv Gandhi are examined.

Von Furer-Haimendorf, Christoph. Tribes of India: The Struggle for Survival. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982.

Forty million Indians are tribal folk, distinct from the great mass of Hindu caste societies. They constitute the oldest element in the population and have retained archaic life styles. In recent years, the tribesmen's age-old isolation in hill and forest regions has come to an end; they are subjected to the pressures of expanding, land-hungry peasant populations infiltrating into their homelands, often displacing them from most of the cultivable land. The tragedy of the decline of ancient tribal communities has so far remained largely unreported, but in this book Furer-Haimendorf analyzes in detail the fate of Indian tribes dispossessed and exploited by moneylenders, corrupt officials, and landgrabbers. One reviewer says, "Many books are contributions to scholarship, and so is this one. But it is much more. It is a book for people, not just about them. Its finds are very important, with explosive implications" (James M. Freeman).

Vergheese, B. G. "A Glimmer in the Gloom." India Today, 31 January 1982, p. 90.

The political commentator examines efforts by the deeply divided non-Communist opposition parties to forge a workable unity that is capable of providing an alternative to the Congress-I. Noting that past attempts did not hold together long, Vergheese believes that a viable opposition is essential if Indian democracy is to remain intact.

"Where the Gandhi Writ Doesn't Run." The Economist, 15 May 1982, p. 61.

Although Mrs. Gandhi is acknowledged as a strong leader, her control over some state government is far more tenuous than it seems. In Haryana, the chief minister has maintained control over the bureaucracy through a large number of boards staffed by political cronies who have profited immensely from kickbacks. The state bureaucracy is demoralized and forced to acquiesce to the extortionary demands of politicians to avoid transfer or outright firing. In Karnataka, an obtuse chief minister who attempted to maintain all administrative reins in his own hands was soon overwhelmed by detail and compelled to hand back authority to the civil servants who subsequently have been able to work without interference from the politicians. The two poles represented by Haryana and Karnataka represent two of the eccentric patterns of Congress rule in a number of states. If Mrs. Gandhi's influence had penetrated sufficiently in such states, such patterns would not be emerging.

Wolpert, Stanley. A New History of India. 2d edition. New York: Oxford University Press, 1982.

This revised edition includes a section on the period from Nehru's era to the present.

"Workers' Walkout." Asiaweek, 5 February 1982, p. 13.

The Essential Services Maintenance Act has bestowed on PM Indira Gandhi the power to deem any industry she chooses, whether public or private, an essential service, and thereby subject to an official ban on strikes. In response, unions in India, faced with what they felt was only a thinly disguised plan to deprive them of the right to strike, staged a nationwide walkout which ended in both the government and the strikers claiming victory. The turmoil resulted in a dozen people killed, scores wounded, and 25,000 under arrest.

"Year of Dangerous Drift." India Today, 15 January 1982.

The yearly review of Indian affairs covers, in brief fashion, many of the issues that dominated the Indian political scene in 1981. Included is a recently completed public opinion poll that shows that Mrs. Gandhi's popularity rating has slipped among the voters. This could reflect poorly on her party's chances in upcoming state elections.

F. NEPAL

Ali, Salamat. "Power Politics." Far Eastern Economic Review, 19 March 1982, p. 24.

A spirit of compromise has prevailed in New Delhi and Kathmandu on sharing the resources of the Himalayan watershed. Bilateral talks in India last month have ironed out longstanding differences over three major Nepalese hydroelectric projects on the Karnali, Rapti, and Mahakali Rivers that will benefit both countries.

Ali, Salamat. "The Second Switzerland." Far Eastern Economic Review, 26 March 1982, p. 28.

India thinks over the proposal to make Nepal a zone of peace, thereby raising hopes in the Himalayan kingdom.

Panday, Davendra Raj. "Nepal in 1981: Stagnation Amidst Change." Asian Survey, vol. 22 (February 1982), p. 158.

Nepal's fledgling experiment in quasi-representative government is viewed by the author as a qualified success so far, although the crown-supported Thapa ministry still does not enjoy broad political support. On the economic front, 1981 in Nepal saw a further erosion of the balance of payments deficit. In external affairs, Nepal was singled out for special attention by high-level official visits from the US, the USSR, and India.

"Peaceful Differences." The Economist, 3 April 1982, p. 71.

Nepal's desire to be declared a zone of peace and neutrality has received no support from India.

Singh, Kedar Man. "Thapa Gains Strength." Far Eastern Economic Review, 16 April 1982, p. 30.

Nepal's partyless panchayat (council) system has been strengthened by a national convention bringing together 1,240 cadres from across the country. The convention, held over 4 days in mid-March, saw a majority of the cadres criticizing corruption and the country's economic failures. However, critics of Prime Minister Surya Bahadur Thapa were unable to muster sufficient support for his ouster and Thapa may have emerged from the convention stronger than ever.

G. PAKISTAN



Aftab, Mohammed. "Advice But No Consent." Far Eastern Economic Review, 8 January 1982, p. 32.

President Zia-ul-Haq has appointed a Federal Advisory Council, but it is powerless and the political parties refuse to join it, and continue to demand a direct, parliamentary election.

Aftab, Mohammed. "Back to the Blueprint." Far Eastern Economic Review, 16 April 1982, p. 46.

Development planning appears to be returning to Pakistan after a near 15-year absence. The guiding spirit behind it is Dr. Mahbubul Haq, a renowned Pakistani economist, who has just returned from a World Bank assignment. Haq has unveiled a five-pronged strategy for economic development centered on creating a strong production base to meet the social needs of the people. His strategy comprises the following policy objectives: a breakthrough in agricultural production; a revival of industrial growth; an all-out effort to develop the country's vast human resources through functional literacy; creation of safety nets for the most vulnerable groups in society; and a new charter for private and public sectors in future development.

Aftab, Mohammed. "Pakistan Over a Barrel." Far Eastern Economic Review, 18 June 1982, p. 71.

Faced with an energy crunch and the increasing strain energy imports are imposing on the balance of payments, Pakistan is urgently developing its own resources and making better use of existing supplies. Currently, the country meets 68 percent of its commercial energy requirements from domestic sources and imports the remainder in the form of crude oil and products such as kerosene and high-speed diesel.

Braun, Dieter. "Constants and Variables in Pakistan's External Relations." Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies, vol. 5 (Spring 1982).

This West German political scientist begins his article with a succinct statement: "Pakistan's main partners in the field of foreign policy are limited regardless of the nature of the government in Islamabad." Braun sees little chance of a markedly different regime coming to power in Pakistan. Pakistan's primary relations are with the United States, the PRC, and Saudi Arabia. The current regime is cultivating all three powers in order to minimize the threat from the Soviet Union and offer some security to Pakistan's territorial integrity. Pakistan will continue to resist India's inclination to draw Islamabad into a South Asian state system in which New Delhi is the paramount power.

"The Case of the Exploding Koran." The Economist, 6 March 1982, p. 60.

President Zia initiates a law and order crackdown which leads to large-scale arrests and the discovery of substantial amounts of subversive literature and weapons in the Province of Sind. The crackdown may give inadvertent publicity to al-Zulfiqar, the terrorist movement initiated by the son of executed Prime Minister Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto which so far has been a small and largely ineffectual organization.

Cohen, Stephen Philip and Weinbaum, Marvin, G. "Pakistan in 1981: Staying On." Asian Survey, vol. 22 (February 1982), p. 136.

Buffeted by increased calls for political liberalization, internal terrorist threats, and Soviet military pressures on the western frontier, Pakistan is still faced with serious threats to its precarious stability. The authors believe, however, that General Zia has engineered a hold on political power with considerable skill and insight. Most Pakistanis view his rule as a "necessary evil." Zia's problems are nonetheless formidable: a political opposition that refuses to go away; the burden of accommodating over 2 million Afghan refugees; and continuing troubles with the Soviets and the Indians.

A Correspondent. "Prisoners of Zia." Far Eastern Economic Review. 15 January 1982, p. 20.

Contrary to the prevailing view that repression by the military regime in Pakistan is simply a transient phase representing a consolidation of the government's power, Amnesty International has reported growing imprisonment, torture, and execution of political prisoners in the country. The Amnesty report paints a consistent pattern of gross violation of human rights including systematic torture of detainees. The picture of the Pakistan Government that emerges from the document is that of an administration terrorizing its own people while simultaneously protesting the same brutalities and repression in neighboring Afghanistan.

de Beer, Patrice. "Roll Up the Carpet." Far Eastern Economic Review, 5 February 1982, p. 20.

President Zia-ul-Haq received a lukewarm reception on his recent visit to France. Because of the Zia regime's doubtful reputation in the field of human rights and suspicions that Islamabad seeks to develop nuclear weapons, the government of President Francois Mitterrand was not overjoyed about receiving the Pakistani leader. The Afghan crisis reportedly was at the center of Zia's talks while his French hosts tried to reassure him that France's interests in South Asia were not limited to New Delhi.

Ebinger, Charles K. Pakistan: Energy Planning in a Strategic Vortex. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982.

This is a skillful examination of energy policy formation, energy utilization, and future energy development in Pakistan that raises fundamental questions about the country's distribution of economic and political power.

Fullerton, John. "The Madjlis Makes Its Mark." Far Eastern Economic Review, 5 February 1982, p. 11.

Pakistan's Federal Advisory Council, though powerless, has started a lively debate on national issues at its first session.

Fullerton, John. "Mission Accomplished." Far Eastern Economic Review, 5 February 1982, p. 11.

Pakistani Foreign Minister Agha Shahi returns from New Delhi fully satisfied with talks held with his Indian counterpart, FM P.V. Narasimha Rao. Both sides agreed to establish a commission to continue negotiations, and an

Indian trade delegation is expected in Islamabad in late February. The move is expected to return trade between the two countries to the private sector and to provide some security for Pakistan's infant engineering industry, which is vulnerable to Indian imports.

Fullerton, John. "Peace Deployment." Far Eastern Economic Review, 29 January 1982, p. 23.

India's fears that Pakistani proposals for a nonaggression pact might be a trap are expected to dominate the forthcoming discussions between the foreign ministers of the two South Asian nations. Pakistani Foreign Minister Agha Shahi will need to convince his Indian counterparts that Islamabad's forthcoming defense modernization program will present no threat to New Delhi and that Pakistan's Armed Forces are committed to a static defense with no capability for the rapid shifts of deployment that are necessary for offensive warfare.

Fullerton, John. "Time to Lift the Lid." Far Eastern Economic Review, 4 June 1982, p. 23.

As the fifth anniversary of the military takeover in Pakistan approaches, informed sources in Islamabad speculate that President Zia-ul Haq may mark the occasion to announce regulations governing national elections to be held within 18 months. These elections could be nonparty contests held on the basis of proportional representation, which would insure that no single opposition party obtains a majority. Among the opposition parties, the Jamaat-Islami Pakistan is the unpredictable factor. The party, described by a European source as "an inverted, orthodox Communist party," proselytises heavily, and is lavishly funded, disciplined, and organized. It has an influence out of proportion to its small membership and would seek to turn Pakistan into the world's first, truly Islamic state.

Fullerton, John. "Tribal Connections." Far Eastern Economic Review, 28 May 1982, p. 36.

Today, the poppy fields and primitive heroin laboratories in the inaccessible and semiautonomous tribal agencies lying along Pakistan's frontier with Afghanistan have overtaken Turkey as the major supplier of heroin to addicts in the West. Pakistan's opium production now greatly exceeds that of the Golden Triangle of Southeast Asia. This development has become of serious concern to US and West European drug enforcement agencies as well as the Pakistani Narcotics Control Board.

Fullerton, John. "Tribal Stick, Aid Carrot." Far Eastern Economic Review, 12 March 1982, p. 16.

Moscow reportedly has threatened to suspend its supervisory role at the new Pakistani steel mill in Karachi and at the Soviet-built power station in Guddu unless Pakistani authorities come to terms with the government of Babrak Kamal in Kabul. Conversely, a moderation of attitude by Islamabad, Soviet officials have promised, will result in an expansion of economic assistance by the USSR.



"Muttering Mullahs." The Economist, 16 January 1982, p. 40.

Pakistan's much heralded but impotent Federal Advisory Council holds its first session and is boycotted by all political parties of consequence.

"Pakistan Shops for a Nuke." India Today, 15 January 1982.

Pakistan's not-so-secret search for nuclear weapons technology is the subject of this review of the status of the Pakistani program. The latest wrinkle in the drama of the Islamic bomb came when Pakistani agents on a surreptitious buying spree in Canada were unmasked by Canadian authorities. Islamabad has denied any intention of developing an atomic bomb.

"Pakistan: Three Million and Counting." Asiaweek, 19 February 1982, p. 17.

In recent months, the number of Afghan refugees in Pakistan has swelled past the three million mark. UN sources describe the welfare work on behalf of the refugees as "one of the biggest ever undertaken in the history of the world body." According to UN estimates, one fifth of the population of Afghanistan has fled the fighting and taken refuge across the border in Pakistan, imposing a financial burden on Islamabad amounting to 10 percent of its annual export earnings.

Rasheed, Jamal. "All Eyes on Baluchistan." Middle East International, 15 January 1982.

Growing dissatisfaction with martial rule in the undeveloped province of Baluchistan has forced Zia to play his hand carefully. According to the author, the Baluch are a "strong political force" in Pakistan and a sharp veer to the left could leave moderate Baluch dissidents such as K. B. Bizenjo in the lurch. Zia has drawn up ambitious development plans for the province with the help of American and Saudi aid. The author believes the GOP will, under current circumstances, back down on its pledge to deny the US base facilities at the port of Gwadar.

"The Refugees It Doesn't Talk About." The Economist, 13 February 1982, p. 50.

Article reports that a steady stream of Iranian refugees are seeking haven in Pakistan from the vicissitudes of the Iranian revolution. The refugees fall into three categories: those persecuted because of their religion; political dissidents from both the left and the right; and Baluch tribesmen. Already hard-pressed by the influx of Afghan refugees and not wanting to complicate relations with the Tehran regime, the Government of Pakistan is reluctant even to recognize that such an exodus is going on.

Rothermund, Dietmar. "Pakistan's Relations with India and Afghanistan." Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies, vol. 4 (Spring, 1982).

Pakistan's troubled relations with its immediate neighbors are the subject of this broad perspective on the current uneasiness in the Indian subcontinent. The author bobs and weaves between references to Afghanistan in the Arthashastra, the Pushtunistan issue, and Zia's "diplomatic stratagems." Somewhat cavalierly, the author predicts that "the military regime may collapse due to growing internal pressure;" in the next breath he concedes that estimating the effect of this downfall on Pakistan's relations with its neighbors "cannot be predicted."

Sardar, Ziauddin and White, Sarah. "Soviet 'Killer Mosquito' Claims Are Suspect." New Scientist, vol. 93 (18 February 1982), p. 419.

Allegations published in a popular Soviet daily that Pakistan is developing bacteriological weapons for use in Afghanistan at a research center in Lahore have resulted in the Pakistani expulsion of the American scientist heading the center. The article reporting the allegation, however, is full of inaccuracies and is almost certainly an example of Soviet disinformation.

"A Tougher Line." Asiaweek, 12 March 1982, p. 13.

FM Agha Shahi's resignation as Foreign Minister of Pakistan may lead to the adoption of a harder line by the military regime of President Zia-ul Haq on bilateral issues with India. Discussions for a nonwar pact with India was an initiative by Shahi, and when the talks went nowhere, the disillusioned Foreign Minister submitted his resignation. This offer to step down was eagerly accepted by Zia and his aides who may have felt that Shahi was making too many concessions to New Delhi in an attempt to sell his nonaggression pact.

"Tuning In." Time, 8 March 1982.

Unconfirmed report from the inaccessible tri-junction border of Pakistan, Afghanistan, and Iran maintains the Soviets have succeeded in gaining permission from the Khomeini regime to establish a listening post in the mountains north of Zahedan. Intelligence information acquired from the post allows the Iranians to monitor the movements of dissidents, while the Soviets keep an eye on the activities of the mujahideen and the Pakistan Army in Baluchistan.

US Congress. House. Committee on Foreign Affairs. Security and Economic Assistance to Pakistan: Hearings and Markup, Sep 16 - Nov 19, 1981. Washington, D.C.: US Government Printing Office, 1982.

US Congress. Senate. Committee on Foreign Relations. Aid and the Proposed Arms Sales of F-16s to Pakistan: Hearings, November 12 and 17, 1981. Washington, D.C.: US Government Printing Office, 1982.

"The Wooing of Baluchistan." The Economist, 12 June 1982, p. 30.

Baluchistan has the potential to become the next Asian disaster area. Its tribal inhabitants occupy an area that encompasses parts of Pakistan, Iran, and Afghanistan. The region could be a tempting prize for an expansion-minded USSR, seeking access to the Indian Ocean. Pakistan is acutely aware of the potential Baluch problem. One of the nightmares of successive regimes in Islamabad has been that the Baluchs might one day arise to demand a sovereign state of their own apart from Pakistan. President Zia has a long way to go before he can count on the unqualified loyalty of the Baluch tribes, but he has managed to dampen some of the separatist sentiment that exists in the region.

"Zia's Council." Asiaweek, 22 January 1982, p. 20.

Pakistan's new Federal Advisory Council holds its inaugural meeting amid considerable pomp in Islamabad. Though its functions are similar to the elected parliament it replaced, the council has little political clout or

freedom of action. It is purely an advisory body, formed by presidential decree and its recommendations are not binding on the country's leaders.

H. SRI LANKA



"Cleaning House." Asiaweek, 2 July 1982, p. 20.

de Silva, Manik. "A Birthday Bandwagon." Far Eastern Economic Review, 30 April 1982, p. 33.

de Silva, Manik. "Dropping the Football." Far Eastern Economic Review,  
8 January 1982, p. 23.

de Silva, Manik. "Let's Keep It Clean." Far Eastern Economic Review, 21 May 1982, p. 36.

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de Silva, Manik. "Paving the Way." Far Eastern Economic Review, 23 July 1982, p. 30.

The Sri Lankan cabinet recently has approved the drafting of wide-ranging changes to the country's election laws. The action has provoked charges by the political opposition that the ruling United National Party (UNP) is trying to bend the law to its own advantage and has led to mounting speculation that President Junius Jayewardene plans to call for an early presidential election to take advantage of the current disarray among opposition parties.

de Silva, K. M. A History of Sri Lanka. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982.

This book presents a commanding synthesis of the major political, economic and cultural forces that have shaped the destiny of Sri Lanka over the past 2,500 years. Centuries ago, this small island nation near the southeast tip of India was a center of Buddhist culture and the seat of a thriving civilization. Epochs of prosperity alternated with periods of incessant strife and growing Western influence. By the 13th century, the ancient civilization had been decimated by internecine warfare and the invasions of foreigners. The Portuguese gained control of the island in 1600; 60 years later the Dutch overthrew them; and the British, in turn, supplanted the Dutch at the end of the 18th century. Sri Lanka became wholly independent from Britain in 1948, and this book concludes with an evaluation of this relatively new independent state. One reviewer notes, "It will be the standard one-volume work on the history of Sri Lanka."

Wijesinghe, Mallory E. Sri Lanka's Development Thrust. Colombo: Published by the author, 1982.

This book is extensively researched. The author seeks to draw together all sorts of sources into the kind of focus that a businessman prefers. The book also covers a very large area of ground--aid and international finance, the main economic projects and directions, plantations, industries, tourism, food, jobs, transport, energy, demography, and environment. What this book conveys, through its maze of socio-economic trails, is an astounding lack of political will by both leading parties coupled with an almost cynical disregard of economic common sense. The author has brought the recent economic history of Sri Lanka into a manageable and readable focus. He has an ear for the nuances of the country's politics and politicians, and the content is workmanlike, honest, and even-handed.